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834
[837]
[836]
a child (1936:76). No adult of reproductive age seems to have remained for long outside of a marriage bond. Extramarital sexual encounters were not uncommon, and adolescents were not prevented from sexual experimentation (1936:72). The separation of sexual partners did not intervene to limit population size.

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842
[756]
Contraceptive measures are reported to have been familiar to both men and women (1936:73). These include "bush medicines" and "ritualistic treatments" performed by a piaiman or shaman. However, the exact species are not identified and their efficacy as well as the incidence of their use are not noted. Old women were reported to have been experienced in inducing abortions through the use of an infusion of bush herbs and manual manipulation including the insertion of small, sharp sticks.

[887]
[847]

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Aside from these behavioral controls, there apparently were physiological factors at work. These are mentioned but their effects cannot be established. Gillin notes, for example, that it was rare for an adolescent girl to become pregnant (1936:73). Regarding this observation, Gillin suggests that temporary sterility and ineptness of technique may explain the lack of pregnancies. Also, the incidence of malaria, hook worm, round worm, and other parasites may have contributed to periods of sexual inactivity and temporary sterility as well as affecting the mortality of infants and others.

[164]

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In sum, for the 1932-33 period, those behavioral and physiological factors which affected population size were recorded without regard for their situational context. Still, the reproductive results seem clear: i.e., the ratio of adults to children was about one to one in

daughters under twelve years of age.

As is apparent, a man's position in a settlement was in part the result of his human capital of female relatives, sisters and daughters, and how he used these to attract men around him. However, a son-in-law was only a temporary dependent. In contrast, the associational bonds that developed between cooperating parallel kinsmen had no definite time span. There occurred varying degrees of cooperation as well as numbers of men involved, the only limit to the relocation of a household being the several months needed for a field to begin to be productive. However, in the context of the cooperation among related kinsmen, a general pattern emerges with regard to a man's life career. Except for old David, all the men in Sawari were younger than Miller, Cook, and Edwin. These three men, at about age forty, were no longer dependents as the younger men were, but were established in their own clearings. They were having different success attracting young men according to the contingencies of available female relatives as well as their personal qualities. When their energies and human capital were becoming exhausted, they again would be dependent members in a settlement, such as old David.

Such dispersed settlements, which fluctuated in size from about fifteen to fifty individuals, constituted the largest social unit (Gillin 1936:141). Within settlements, there was no differential access to local subsistence resources. Individual men who were shamans or sorcerers privately owned knowledge and magical skills, but this had little effect on their participation in the subsistence routine. A headman was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in